

# MEMOIRS

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*K Berkeley*

Sir John Berkley,

Containing an

## ACCOUNT

Of his

## NEGOTIATION

WITH

Lieutenant General CROMWELL,

Commissary General IRETON,

And other Officers of the Army,

For Restoring King CHARLES the First to the  
Exercise of the Government of *England*.

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L O N D O N :

Printed by J. Darby in Bartholomew-Close, for  
*A. Baldwin* in Warwicklane. MDCXCIX

MEMOIRS

of John Barker,

Colonel in the Army

A CCOUNT

of his

NEGOTIATION

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WITH

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Countess of

and other of the Army



For Restoring King George III as the first to the  
Treasury of the Government of England.

LONDON

Printed by J. Dwyer in Bartholomew-Cliff, for  
A. Baldwin in Westminster, M.DCCC.



# MEMOIRS

## O F

Sir *JOHN BERKLEY.*

**I**N the Year 1647 her Majesty and his Highness the Prince of *Wales* were pleased to send me into *Holland*, to condole the Death of the Prince of *Orange*; and having performed that Office, I returned with Mr. *John* and Mr. *William Ashburnham* to *France*, by the way of *Calais*; where we met with the News of his Majesty's being seized by one Cornet *Joyce* in *Holmby* House, from whence he was carried with a Guard of 400 Horse towards the Army, the Cornet producing no Authority whereby to warrant this proceeding. The next Post brought us Advertisement to *Calais*, that his Majesty was well received by the Officers and Soldiers of the Army,

and that there were great hopes conceived that they would both concur to establish his Majesty in his just Rights. From *Calais* we went to *Rouen*, where we met a Confirmation of this Intelligence, and heard withal, that one Sir *Edward Ford* (who was Brother-in-law to Commissary General *Ireton*) was sent by her Majesty and his Highness the Prince of *Wales* into *England*, to discover the Intentions of the Army, and to promote an Agreement between his Majesty and them. From *Rouen* we went to *St. Germain*s; where we were no sooner arrived, but we heard that Mr. *Denham* (who during his Imprisonment had contracted a great Familiarity with Mr. *Peters*, a Preacher, and a powerful person in the Army) was dispatch'd with a Commission to the like effect with that of Sir *Edward Ford*. As I was going up to her Majesty, I met accidentally with my Lord *Culpepper*, who scarce had saluted me, before he told me, that I must prepare my self immediately for another

ther Journey, her Majesty being resolved to send me into *England* after Sir *Edward Ford* and Mr. *Denham*. I answer'd, that I had no Pass, nor any Acquaintance with any one of the Army; and that I doubted, if the King's Party should come too thick upon them at first, those of the Army would be jealous they should have too many Sharers in the Places and Preferments they might perhaps meditate to procure and preserve to themselves. His Lordship replied, That if I were afraid to go into *England*, her Majesty and his Highness would serve themselves of some other person, because they conceived it necessary to employ some to the Army, that might be supposed to have greater Trust both with the Queen in *France*, and with the King in *England*, than either Sir *Edward Ford* or Mr. *Denham* had. I return'd, That if after a serious consideration it should be judged of use to dispatch me into *England*, I would adventure, tho I had not the honour to be very well known



to his Majesty, and therefore could not expect any great Trust from him. To that part his Lordship replied, That there was an Intention to send Mr. *John Ashburnham* after me; but that he would not go without a Pass, and therefore that I should have it added to my Instructions to procure him one. Within few days after, I had my Dispatch, and went by the way of *Dieppe*, where I met with Mr. *William Leg* of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty. He embarked with me for *England*; we arriv'd at *Hastings*, and from thence went the next day towards *London*. Two miles on this side *Tunbridg* I met with Sir *Allen Apsley*, who had been my Lieutenant-Governor of *Exeter*, and afterwards Governor of *Barnstaple* in the County of *Devon*. He told me that he was going to me from *Cromwel* and some other Officers of the Army, with Letters, and a Cypher and Instructions, which were to this effect: " That he should desire me to remember, that in some Conferences with  
 \* " Colonel

“ Colonel *Lambert* and other Officers of  
 “ the Army upon the rendring of *Exe-*  
 “ *ter*, I had taken notice of the Army’s  
 “ bitter inveighing against the King’s  
 “ person, as if he had been the worst  
 “ of men, and their excessive extolling  
 “ the Parliament; both which being  
 “ without any colour of ground, I had  
 “ concluded that those Discourses were  
 “ not out of any perswasion of mind,  
 “ but affected to prepare men to re-  
 “ ceive the Alteration of Government  
 “ they intended the Parliament should  
 “ effect by the assistance of the Army;  
 “ which I had said was not only a most  
 “ wicked, but a very difficult if not an  
 “ impossible Design, for a few men not  
 “ of the greatest Quality to introduce a  
 “ Popular Government against the King  
 “ and his Party, against the Presbyteri-  
 “ ans, against the Nobility and Gentry,  
 “ against the Laws establish’d both  
 “ Ecclesiastical and Civil, and against  
 “ the whole Genius of the Nation, that  
 “ had been accustomed for so many

“ Ages to a Monarchical Government.  
 “ Whereas on the other side, if they  
 “ would but consider, that those of  
 “ their Party had no particular obligati-  
 “ ons to the Crown, as many of the  
 “ Presbyterians had, and therefore ought  
 “ less to despair of his Majesty's Grace  
 “ and Favour; that the Presbyter began  
 “ this War upon specious pretences of  
 “ making the King a glorious King;  
 “ that under that pretext they had de-  
 “ ceived many well-meaning men, and  
 “ had brought great things to pass; but  
 “ that now the Mask was taken off,  
 “ and they discovered to have sought  
 “ their own Advantages, and at the same  
 “ time the Power almost wrested out of  
 “ their hands to do themselves much  
 “ good or others hurt, and that by the  
 “ Independent Party, who could esta-  
 “ blish themselves no way under Hea-  
 “ ven so justly and prudently, as by  
 “ making good what the Presbyterians  
 “ had only pretended, that is, restoring  
 “ King and People to their just and an-

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“ tient

1616



" tient Rights ; which would so ingra-  
 " tiate them with both, that they would  
 " voluntarily invest them with as much  
 " Trust and Power as Subjects are ca-  
 " pable of. Whereas if they grasped  
 " more, it would be with the general ha-  
 " tred, and their own destruction. To  
 " this Discourse of mine they only gave  
 " a Hearing, but no Consent, as pro-  
 " ceeding from an Interest much divi-  
 " ded from theirs : but since they have  
 " found by experience all or the most  
 " part to be so reasonable that they were  
 " resolved to put it in practice, as I  
 " might perceive by what had already  
 " pass'd ; they desired for the present  
 " nothing of me, but that I would pre-  
 " sent them humbly to the Queen and  
 " Prince, and be Suitor to them in their  
 " Names, not to condemn them abso-  
 " lutely, but to suspend their Opinions  
 " of them, and their Pretensions to-  
 " wards his Majesty, and judg them ra-  
 " ther by their future Behaviour, of the  
 " innocence whereof they had already  
 " given

“ given some Testimonies to the World,  
 “ and would do more and more daily.  
 “ When I should have done this Office,  
 “ they desired I would come over into  
 “ *England*, and become an Eye-witness  
 “ of their Proceedings. I thought this  
 Rencontre no ill Omen to my future  
 Proceedings. Sir *Allen Apsley* told me  
 I should have to do with subtil men,  
 that govern’d themselves by other Ma-  
 xims than the rest of the World. I re-  
 member I answer’d, that the Caution  
 was good, and that I would arm my  
 self the best I could; but that it was  
 hard to secure our selves from malici-  
 ous men when we were absolutely in  
 their power. I took the best Informa-  
 tion I could from Sir *Allen Apsley*, and  
 resolved with him to go into *London*  
 before I went to the King or the Army,  
 that I might be enlighten’d by the most  
 able men of our Party; which I did,  
 and collected this following Discourse  
 from them.

[ During

[ During the time his Majesty was at *Newcastle*, the Independent Party was so prevalent in the House of Commons, that the Presbyterians were forced to consent to have the King render'd by the *Scots* to the Parliament; and his Majesty was accordingly deliver'd by them to the *English* Committee, and a Guard of *English* set upon him of the Presbyterian party, and no passionate Enemies of his Majesty. The Presbyterian party, that was very numerous in the House of Commons, and over-voted the other in most Questions, had engaged themselves privately (by some of their Chiefs) to the *Scots* in two points; first, that the Army should be disbanded, and then the King brought to his Parliament with Honour and Safety. The disbanding was gone about very seriously by the Parliament; and a Committee (whereof the Earl of *Warwick* was the chief) chosen, and accordingly sent to *Newmarket* or *Saffron-walden*, where the Army then lay. Many of the Army professed



professed really their Obedience to the  
 Parliament as to the disbanding; but  
 none more solemnly than *Cromwel*, who  
 made great Execrations against himself  
 in the House, if he did not desire it cor-  
 dially. He had always professed great  
 Submission to the Parliament, who had  
 very liberally rewarded him for his Ser-  
 vice, and was hopeful to have begotten  
 so great a confidence in them, that they  
 would have been contented to entertain  
 the Army as their Pretorian Band, and  
 therefore was very sorry to see the House  
 bent to license them, but durst not ap-  
 pear against it, because he had many  
 Ill-willers in the Army, and did believe  
 they durst not, or would not, unani-  
 mously oppose the Parliament in that  
 particular, and therefore refused to go  
 to the Army, tho he was sent for often  
 by the mutinous Party, who upon that  
 score were not a little offended with  
 him; and at length, their Discontents  
 increasing, seeing themselves deserted by  
 their Superior Officers, thought of some  
 means

means to secure themselves from their Ungrateful Parliament, which they began now perfectly to hate, and thereupon chose to themselves Adjutators in every Regiment, and in every Troop of Horse, by whom they engaged themselves to be absolutely concluded. The first Resolution these new-elected Officers took, was, not to disband, and the next, to seize the King's Person. *Cromwel* staid very long in *London*, for one that had been the Author of that Design : however, he at last stole out of Town, and joined with the Mutineers, but did not so readily concur in the seizing the King's Person, or at least pretended not to do it : For he sent his Kinsman *Whalley* with Orders to use all means but Force, to cause his Majesty to return to *Holmby* ; but his Majesty absolutely refusing, *Whalley* marched with his Majesty towards the Army. ]

This Account I had from the most discerning of my Acquaintance in *London*, from whence I went to the Head-  
Quar-

Quarters at *Reading*, with intention (after I had deliver'd my Message) to desire leave to wait on his Majesty at *Causum*. I was no sooner arriv'd at *Reading*, but I spoke with Sir *Edward Ford* and Mr. *John Denham*. Both of them were much of the same Advice with those I had discoursed at *London* concerning the present Power of the Adjutators, by whom the most important Affairs of the Kingdom and Army were transacted. By them I learnt that His Majesty came very unwillingly from *Holmby*; that his Majesty would not go to the Army, tho he were earnestly invited by the Officers; that his Majesty, against the Consent of the Army, concurr'd with the Vote of the Parliament, to go to *Richmond*, where he would have been out of the Army's power, and would not be perswaded out of his Resolution, till the Army forced the Parliament to recal their Vote: Then his Majesty would needs go to *Windfor*, much against the sense of the Army; but because they could not perswade his



his Majesty, they forced him from thence by ill usage; and that the rather, because he would not be intreated to pass by the Army in his way to *Windsor*: In sum, they doubted that his Majesty hearkned to some secret Propositions of the Presbyterians, and bent all his thoughts to make an absolute Breach between the Army and the Parliament, which *Ireton* discerned, and told his Majesty plainly, “ Sir, you have an intention to be the Arbitrator between the “ Parliament and us, and we mean to “ be it between your Majesty and the “ Parliament.

Two or three hours after my arrival, *Cromwel* sent an Officer to excuse him to me, that he could not wait on me till ten at night, by reason he was sitting with the Committee of Parliament, and should not rise till then. He came then accompanied with *Rainsborough* and Sir *Hardress Waller*. After general discourse, I told him the sum of my Instructions from the Queen and Prince; which were to assure

sure them, that her Majesty and his High-  
 ness were not partial to the Presbyteri-  
 ans, nor any way averse to them; that I  
 should endeavor to incline his Majesty to  
 comply with them as far as would stand  
 with his Honor and Conscience, and to  
 dispose them to press his Majesty no far-  
 ther. His answer was in these words :  
 “ That whatever the World might judg  
 “ of them, they would be found no  
 “ seekers of themselves farther than to  
 “ have leave to live as Subjects ought to  
 “ do, and to preserve their Consciences ;  
 “ that they thought no men could enjoy  
 “ their Lives and Estates quietly, with-  
 “ out the King had his Rights, which  
 “ they had declared in general terms al-  
 “ ready to the World, and would more  
 “ particularly very speedily, wherein  
 “ they would comprise the several Inte-  
 “ rests of the Royal, Presbyterian, and  
 “ Independent Parties, as far as they were  
 “ consisting with each other ; which I  
 understood afterwards, to be meant of  
 the *Proposals* of the Army. I went the  
 next

next-day to the General, by *Cromwel's* direction, to ask his leave to see the King; which he was pleased to grant. I deliver'd my Letters and Instructions to his Majesty. I found that his Majesty discover'd not only to me, but to every one he was pleased to converse with, a total Diffidence of all the Army except *Huntington*, and grounded it chiefly upon the Officers backwardness to treat of receiving any Favour or Advantage from his Majesty. I was of his Majesty's sense, that men whose hands were yet hot with the blood of his most faithful Subjects, ought not entirely to be trusted, but thought they ought absolutely to be well dissembled with whilst his Majesty was in their hands, at least that he might the better get out of them, and to this end offered several Expedients; as, to suffer *Peters* to preach before his Majesty, of which he was very ambitious; and to converse with him, and others of the Army, with freedom; and by all means to endeavour to gain the good Opinion



of the most active Adjutors, and the like. But his Majesty concurred in none of them ; which made me doubt his Majesty valued my Reasons something the worse for the Author, and therefore I meditated nothing so much as to procure a Pass for Mr. *John Ashburnham*, with whom I hoped I might prevail, and he with his Majesty ; which within few days after I did obtain, and caused it to be deliver'd to his Servant.

About four days after my coming to the Army, there came two General Officers from the Council of War to me, to let me know, that they had been informed that I had some wrong done me upon the Rendition of *Exeter*, to a great value ; and that if I would put the Sum under my hand, they would see that I should have satisfaction. I gave them most hearty thanks ; but withal told them, that I came not to them upon my own business, but that of his Majesty ; which as soon as they should dispatch, no man living would be more  
ready.

ready to receive and acknowledg this or any other favour from them; till then, it would no way become me to do it. This was a Generosity which those Self-deniers thought might do well in discourse and speculation: but could not understand it when brought into practice, and therefore concluded that I was so great a Presbyterian, that I would chuse rather to lose twelve hundred pounds ( which was my pretension ) than to offend my Lord *Roberts*, a great Presbyterian, who must have made me Reparation; in which opinion they were confirmed by two Letters they had lately perused, the one from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* at *Antwerp*, and the other from Sir *William Fleetwood* at *London*; both affirming, that to their knowledg I was an engaged Presbyterian. I was altogether a stranger to them both, and therefore did attribute this either to their Envy that I was admitted, or Grief that they were excluded from the Employment between his Majesty and the Army.

However it was, upon those surmises *Cromwel* came to expostulate the matter plainly with me, and I replied to him in these words, That I was as much Presbyterian as Independent ; that I, as well as others, was inclined to think the better of them, because they pretended to mind the King's Restoration ; but bid them be assured, that as soon as I should discover they were not real, I, and I thought all the King's Party, would join with any that would but dissemble better than they ; and concluded, that I thought nothing would separate the Crown and the King's Party. *Cromwel* seemed not unsatisfied with this plain dealing, and so left me. The next day *Huntington*, who was sent to me by the King, made me acquainted with two General Officers, whom I durst not name because they are obnoxious to the present Power. With these I had often and free Communication ; and inquiring what Opinion they had of the Army in general, as to a conjunction with the King,



King, they replied, that they did believe it was universally desired both by the Officers and Adjutators ; that if *Cromwel* was not real in it, he was a great Dissembler, and so was *Ireton*; that for the present the whole Army was so bent upon it, that they durst not be otherwise ; that if they should ever happen to change, they should easily discover it ; and because they had been in great part the Cause that *Sir Allen Apsley* was sent to me, they thought themselves obliged to give me all the light they could of things and persons ; which to the last they performed, in my opinion, most sincerely. I let them know at our first meeting, that I doubted there would be three great Difficulties which would obstruct the Agreement. First, they would expect that the King should not only give them Liberty of Conscience, but alter the Establish'd Ecclesiastical Government, which his Majesty was perswaded he could not in conscience do. The second, that they would not be contented to separate

some few men from the Court, and from bearing great Offices, unless they and their Posterity were ruined, and that by the King's Act, which his Majesty could not in Honor permit. And thirdly, that they would not be contented with a security of the Militia during his Majesties life, and his Majesty could not grant it farther, but infinitely to the prejudice of his Posterity. They assured me that his Majesty would be press'd in none of these particulars, and that there was a draught of Proposals which *Ireton* had drawn, and which would certainly be voted by the whole Army, wherein there was nothing tending to any such purpose; and if his Majesty would consent to them, there would be an end of all difficulties; and they thought the sooner his Majesty did it, would be the better, because there was no certainty in the temper of the Army, which they had observed to have alter'd more than once already. I ask'd whether I might not have a sight of these Proposals; they answer'd, when I pleas'd.

sed. I went with them to *Ireton* for that purpose, and remained with him almost till morning. He permitted me to alter two of the Articles, and that in most material points; and I would have done a third, which was, the excluding seven persons (that were not named) from Pardon, and the admitting of our Party to sit in the next Parliament. To the first he answer'd, That being they had prevailed in the War, if they should not in the sight of the World make some distinction between themselves and those that were worsted (who always bear the blame of publick Quarrels) they had so many malicious Enemies both in the Parliament and Army, that they should be censured of betraying their Party, and to have sought their own ends by private and indirect means. To the second, He confess'd that he should himself be afraid of a Parliament, wherein the King's Party should have the major Vote: but after the Agreement, if the King's party and they could piece kindly



and cordially together, there would be nothing easier than to procure his Majesty satisfaction in those two particulars. He concluded, by conjuring me as I tender'd his Majesties good and welfare, that I would endeavour to prevail with him to grant the Proposals, that they might with the more confidence propound them to the Parliament, and make an end of all differences. Out of my Discourses and Inquiries I collected these Observations: First, that the Army was governed partly by a Council of War, and partly by a Council of the Army or Adjutors, wherein the General had but a single voice; that *Fairfax* the General had little power in either; that *Cromwel* and his Son *Ireton* with their Friends and Partisans, governed the Council of War absolutely, but not that of the Army, which was the most powerful, tho they had a strong party there also; but the major part of the Adjutors carried it. Amongst these Adjutors there were many ill-wishers of *Crom-*

*wel*, looking on him as one who would  
 always make his advantages out of the  
 Army. These observed that *Cromwel*  
 resolved to prosecute his ambitious Ends  
 through all means whatsoever, and did  
 not only dissemble, but really change  
 his way to those Ends; and when he  
 thought the Parliament would make his  
 Fortune, resign'd himself totally to  
 them, even to the disbanding of the Ar-  
 my before it was paid: When the Pres-  
 byterians prevailed, he took the Cove-  
 nant: When he quitted the Parliament,  
 his chief dependence was on the Army,  
 which he endeavour'd by all means to  
 keep in Unity, and if he could not bring  
 it to his sense, rather than suffer any di-  
 vision, went over himself, and carried  
 his Friends with him into that way the  
 Army did chuse, and that faster than  
 any in it. Upon this ground, when the  
 Army was for the Parliament, no man  
 so violent as he in both: When the Ar-  
 my became for the King against the Par-  
 liament, no man drove so furiously as  
 he;

he; and when the Army changed a third time for the Parliament and against the King, he was still the Leader: and if the Army shall change a fourth time to become Levellers (tho he will oppose this at first, as he did all other Changes) no man shall out-go him in Leveling. All that he seems to desire is, that the Army would be constant in any way, that he might not be necessitated to the playing of so many different parts, he being equally indifferent to all that will afford him equal Advantages.

When I came to Reading, I found many of the Adjutators jealous that *Cromwel* was not sincere for the King, and desired me, if I found him false to their Engagement, that I would let them know it, and they did not doubt to set him right either with or against his will. But in all my Conferences with him, I found no man in appearance so zealous for a speedy Blow as he; sometimes wishing that the King was more frank, and would not tie himself  
so



so strictly to narrow Maxims ; sometimes complaining of his Son Ireton's slowness in perfecting the Proposals, and his not accommodating more to his Majesty's sense, always doubting that the Army would not preserve their good inclinations for the King. I met with him about three days after I came to Reading, as he was coming from the King then at Causum : He told me that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the Interview between the King and his Children, and wept plentifully at the remembrance of it, saying, That never man was so abused as he in his sinister opinions of the King, who he thought was the uprightest and most conscientious of his three Kingdoms ; that they of the Independent Parry ( as they were called ) had infinite Obligations to him for not consenting to the Scots Propositions at Newcastle, which would have totally ruined them, and which his Majesty's Interest seemed to invite him to ;  
and

and concluded with me by wishing, that God would be pleased to look upon him according to the sincerity of his heart towards his Majesty. I immediately acquainted his Majesty with this Passage; who seemed not well edified with it, and did believe that all proceeded out of the use *Cromwel* and the Army had of his Majesty, without whom he thought they could do nothing; and this I conceive was inculcated daily by *Bampfild* and *Loe* at first, and afterwards by the Lord *Lauderdale*, who had frequent Accesses to his Majesty from the *Scots*, the *Presbyterians*, and the City of *London*, who knew there was nothing so fatal to them as a Conjunction between the King and the Army. Out of all my Observations I drew these Conclusions, which I prosecuted to the best of my power: That his Majesty was concerned to come to a speedy issue with the Army; that he might either agree with them, or discover that they intended not to agree with him; and  
in

in that case that his Majesty should secure his Escape, and in the mean time that his Majesty should not give them the least colour of exception to his Actions; that seeing the Officers were more easily fixed to his Majesty by a visible prospect of their Interest in case of a Conjunction, I took the least pains with them, and applied my self to *Peters* and the Adjutators, who sway'd their Officers more than their Officers commanded them; and it was more hard to satisfy them (being many) in point of Interest, than their Officers who were few.

About ten days after my arrival at the Army, the Contentions grew high and hot between them and the Presbyterian Party in the House, which was the major part by much, and the City of *London*; the one contending to have the Parliament purged of corrupt Members, and the other to have the Army removed farther from the City. This caused the Army's March from *Reading*  
to



to *Bedford*, and consequently his Majesty's Remove with his wonted Guard from *Causum* to *Woborn*, a House of the Earl of *Bedford*, where I procured his Majesty a sight of the Army's Proposals six or eight days before they were offer'd to him in publick. His Majesty was much displeased with them in general, saying, that if they had a mind to close with him, they would never impose so hard terms upon him. I replied, That I should suspect them more than I did (if they had demanded less) that they did not intend really to serve his Majesty, but only to abuse him, since it was not likely that men who had through so great Dangers and Difficulties acquir'd so great Advantages, should ever sit down with less than was contained in the Proposals; and on the other side, never was a Crown so near lost, so cheaply recover'd, as his Majesty's would be, if they agreed upon such terms. His Majesty was of another advice, and returned, That they could not  
sublist

subsist without him, and therefore he did not doubt but that he should see them very shortly be glad to condescend farther; and then objected to three particular points of the Proposals. The first was, The Exception of seven, not named, from Pardon. The second, the excluding his Party from being eligible in the next ensuing Parliament. And the third, That tho there was nothing against the Church-Government establish'd, yet there was nothing done to assert it. To these I replied, That after his Majesty and the Army were accorded, it would be no impossible work to make them remit in the first point; and if he could not, when his Majesty was reinstated in his Throne, he might easily supply seven persons beyond the Seas in such sort as to make their Banishment supportable to them. To the second; That the next Parliament would be necessitated to lay great burdens upon the Kingdom, and it would be a happiness to the King's Party to have no Voice in them.

them. To the third, That the Law was Security enough for the Church, and it was happy that men who had fought against the Church, should be reduced ( when they were Superiours ) not to speak against it. His Majesty broke from me with this expression, Well! I shall see them glad 'ere long to accept more equal terms. I now began to long impatiently for *Mr. Ashburnham*, as hoping he had some better Topicks for his Majesty; and within few days after he arrived to his Majesty's great contentment as well as mine. His Instructions referr'd to mine, which we were to prosecute jointly. I gave him presently all the light I had, which he seemed to embrace at first; but after he had discoursed more amply with his Majesty, I found him so far from crossing him, that he abounded in his Majesty's sense, and held afterwards this discourse with me: That for his part he was always bred in the best Company, and therefore could not converse with such senseless Fellows



as the Agitators were; that if we could gain the Officers sure to the King, there was no doubt but they would be able to command their own Army, and therefore he was resolved to apply himself totally to them, and so did, and there grew immediately great familiarities between him and *Whalley* Captain of the Guard that waited on the King, and then with *Cromwel* and *Ireton*; and daily Messages between his Majesty and the Head-Quarters, which *Mr. Ashburnham* carried, and sometimes me with him, tho I seldom knew the Message, at least he would have me believe I did not; for he chose to speak apart with *Cromwel* and *Ireton* when I was present, alledging, that they would not speak freely to two at once. What with the pleasure of having so concurring a Second as *Mr. Ashburnham*, and what with the encouraging Messages his Majesty had by my Lord *Lauderdale*, and others from the Presbyterian Party and the City of *London*, who pretended to despise the Army, and to oppose them

to death, his Majesty seemed very much erected ; insomuch that when the Proposals were solemnly sent to him, and his Concurrence most humbly and earnestly desired, his Majesty ( not only to the astonishment of Ireton and the rest, but even to mine ) entertain'd them with very tart and bitter Discourses, saying sometimes, that he would have no man to suffer for his sake, and that he repented of nothing so much as the Bill against the Lord Strafford ; which tho most true, was unpleasant for them to hear ; That he would have the Church establish'd according to Law by the Proposals. They replied, It was none of their work to do it ; that it was enough for them to wave the point, and they hoped enough for his Majesty since he had waved the Government it self in Scotland. His Majesty said that he hoped God had forgiven him that Sin, and repeated often, *You cannot be without me ; You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you.* Many of the Army that were present, and wished

wished well, at least as they pretended, to the Agreement, look'd wishly and with wonder upon me and *Mr. Ashburnham*, and I as much as I durst upon his Majesty, who would take no notice of it, until I was forced to step to him and whisper in his ear, *Sir, your Majesty speaks as if you had some secret strength and power that I do not know of; and since your Majesty hath concealed it from me, I wish you had concealed it from these men too.* His Majesty soon recollected himself, and began to sweeten his former Discourse with great power of Language and Behavior. But it was now of the latest. For Colonel *Rainsborough*, who of all the Army seemed the least to wish the Accord, in the middle of the Conference stole away and posted to the Army, which he inflamed against the King with all the artificial malice he had. As soon as the Conference ended, I followed him to *Bedford*, where the Army then lay. I met with some of the Adjutators, who ask'd me what his Majesty meant, to



entertain their Commissioners so harshly? I told them, that *Rainsborough* had delivered it amiss to them, as indeed he had by adding to the truth. I then desired a meeting with *Ireton* and the rest of the superior Officers, and obtained it, and there ask'd them, If the King should grant the Proposals, what would ensue? They replied, they would offer them to the Parliament: But if they refused them, what would they do then? they replied, they would not tell me. I then returned, that I would tell them, I would lose no more time with them: For if there came of Proposals but the propounding, I could then propound as well as they. They all replied, that it was not for them to say directly what they would do against the Parliament; but intimated that they did not doubt to be able to prevail with the Parliament. When I appeared not fully satisfied with this Reply, *Rainsborough* spoke out in these words, *If they will not agree, we will make them;* to which the whole Company

pany consented. But we had a harder work with his Majesty, who was so far from granting, that he sent for Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Mr. *Jeffry Palmer*, and Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, his learned Counsel, Men indeed of great Abilities and Integrity ; to these were added Mr. *Philip Warwick*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Denham*, Sir *Richard Ford*, Dr. *Gough* ( who came over with Mr. *Ashburnham* from France ) Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and my self. We easily answered the Proposals both in point of Law and Reason. But we had to do with what was stronger than both.

All this while there wanted not those that mediated a better understanding between the Parliament and the Army ; but that not taking effect, the Army advanced nearer *London*, and lodged at *Windsor*, and his Majesty at *Stoke*. At this time those that were supposed best inclined to his Majesty in the Army, seemed much afflicted with his Majesty's backwardness to concur with the Army in

the Proposals; and the rather, because they conceived great hopes that within few days they should be masters of *London*, which they doubted might alter the temper of the Army towards the King. *Cromwel*, *Ireton*, and the rest of the superior Officers of the Army, knew that *London* would certainly be theirs two days before they communicated it to the Army; and therefore sent an Express to *Mr. Ashburnham* and to me, that since his Majesty would not yield to the Proposals, yet his Majesty should at least send a kind Letter to the Army, before it were commonly known that *London* would submit. We caused a meeting of the above-named persons at *Windſor*, where the Letter was immediately drawn: But his Majesty would not sign it, till after three or four several Debates; which lost one whole days time, if not more. *Mr. Ashburnham* and I went with it at last, and upon the way met with Messages to hasten it. But before we came to *Syon*, the Commissioners  
from



from *London* were arrived, and our Letter out of season ; for tho his Majesty was ignorant of the success when he signed the Letter, yet coming after it was known, it lost both the Grace and Efficacy. All that the Officers could do, they did ; which was, whilst the Army was in the Act of Thanksgiving to God for their success, to propose that they should not be elevated with it, but keep still to their former Engagement to his Majesty, and once more solemnly vote the Proposals ; which was accordingly done. The next day the Army marched into *London*, and some few of the Presbyterian Party, that had been most active against the Army, disappeared. From *London*, the Headquarters came to *Putney*, and his Majesty was lodg'd at *Hampton Court*. Mr. *Ashburnham* had daily some Message or another from the King to *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, who had enough to do both in the Parliament and Council of the Army, the one abounding with Presbyterians, the other with Levellers, and both really

jealous that *Cromwel* and *Ireton* had made a private Compact and Bargain with the King; *Lilburn* printing books weekly to that effect: and Sir *Lewis Dives* afterwards acknowledged to me, that being his Fellow-prisoner, he had daily endeavour'd to possess him with that opinion, of which altho he were not perswaded himself, yet he judg'd it for the King's service to divide *Cromwel* and the Army. On the other side, the Presbyterians were no less confident of their Surmises; and amongst them, *Cromwel* told me, that my Lady *Carlisle* affirmed, that I had said to her Ladiship, that he was to be Earl of *Essex*, and Captain of the King's Guards. I had the honour to be well known to her Ladiship, but forbore, contrary to my Duty and Inclination, to wait on her, for fear of giving any Umbrage to the Army, she being of the contrary party; but having several Messages from her Ladiship by my Lady *Newport* and others, I waited on her. I was not long there, but *Arpin* came into her Chamber, who

who was an Adjutator, and sent for, as I conceived, to be an Eye-witness that I was in my Lady *Carlisle's* Chamber, tho nothing pass'd but general Discourses; and I should have ly'd if I had said any thing to that purpose. But these and like Discourses made great impression on the Army; to which *Mr. Ashburnham's* secret and long Conferences contributed not a little; insomuch that the Adjutators, who were wont to complain that *Cromwel* went too slow towards the King, began to suspect that he had gone too fast, and left them behind him: From whence there were frequent Complaints in the Council of the Army, of the intimacy *Mr. Ashburnham* and I had in the Army; that *Cromwel's* and *Ireton's* door was open to us when it was shut to them; that they knew not why Malignants should have so much Countenance in the Army, and Liberty with the King. These Discourses, both in publick and private, *Cromwel* seemed highly to be offended with; and



and when he could carry any thing to his Majesty's advantage amongst the Adjutators, could not rest until he had made us privately partakers of it; but withal he told *Mr. Ashburnham* and me, that if he were an honest man, he had said enough of the sincerity of his intentions; if he were not, nothing was enough, and therefore conjur'd us, as we tender'd his Majesty's Service, not to come so frequently to his Quarters, but send privately to him, the suspicions of him being grown to that height, that he was afraid to lie in his own Quarters. But this had no operation upon *Mr. Ashburnham*, who alledged, that we must shew them the necessity of agreeing with the King from their own Disorders.

About three weeks after the Army had enter'd *London*, the Scots had prevail'd with the Parliament for another solemn Address to his Majesty, which was performed in the old Propositions of *Newcastle*, some Particulars in reference  
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to the *Scots* only excepted. The Army was very unwilling the King should grant these Propositions, of which the King advised with all the Persons above mentioned, who were all of opinion, that it was unsafe for his Majesty to close with the Enemies of the Army whilst he was in it; and therefore followed the Advice of all the leading part of the Independent Party both in the Parliament and Army, by refusing the Articles, and desiring a personal Treaty, whereof his Majesty thought the Proposals a better ground than the Articles, tho there were something in them to which his Majesty could not consent. We gave our Friends in the Army a sight of this Answer the day before it was sent, with which they seemed infinitely satisfied, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to procure a personal Treaty, and to my understanding perform'd it: for both *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, with *Vane* and all their Friends, seconded with great resolution this desire of his Majesty. But contrary

trary to their and all mens expectation, they found a most general opposition, and that this Message of his Majesty had confirmed the jealousy of their private Agreement with the King; so that the more it was urged by *Cromwel*, &c. the more it was rejected by the rest, who looked on them as their Betrayers. The Suspicions were so strong in the House, that they lost almost all their Friends there; and the Army that lay then about *Putney* were no less ill satisfied: for there came down shoals every day from *London* of the Presbyterian and Levelling Parties that fomented these Jealousies; insomuch that *Cromwel* thought himself, or pretended it, not secure in his own Quarters. The Adjutators now begin to change their Discourse, and complained openly in their Councils both of the King and the Malignants about his Majesty. One of the first they voted from him was my self. They said, That since his Majesty had not accepted of their Proposals, they were  
not



not obliged any farther to them; that they were obliged to consult their own Safety, and the good of the Kingdom, and to use such means towards both as they should find rational: and because they met with strong opposition from *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, and most of the Superior Officers, and some even of the Adjutators, they had many private solemn meetings in *London*, where they humbled themselves before the Lord, and sought his good pleasure, and desired that he would be pleased to reveal it to his Saints, which they interpret those to be who are most violent or Zealous (as they call it) in the work of the Lord. These found it apparent that God had on the one side hardned the King's heart, and blinded his eyes, in not passing the Proposals, whereby they were absolved from offering them any more; and on the other side, the Lord had led Captivity captive, and put all things under their feet, and therefore they were bound to finish the Work of  
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the Lord, which was to alter the Government, according to their first Design: and to this end they resolved to seize the King's Person, and take him out of *Cromwel's* hands. These Proceedings struck so great a Terror into *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, with others of the Officers that we supposed best affected to us, that they were of opinion the Army should be drawn to a Rendezvouz, and their endeavours used to engage them once more to adhere to the Proposals. As soon as the tumultuous part of the Army had notice of it, they resolved before the day of the Rendezvouz to seize the King's Person. I had been now about three weeks removed from the King, and about a fortnight after me *Mr. Ashburnham*. *Mr. Leg* still remained with his Majesty, and waited in his Bed-chamber.

About eight or ten days before the time appointed for the drawing together of the Army, *Mr. Ashburnham* invited me from *London*, and *Mr. Leg* from  
*Hampton*

*Hampton Court*, to dine with him on a Sunday at *Ditton*, being the other side of the Water. They were both there long before me, and I a good while before dinner. But just as Dinner was ready to come in, they took me aside in the room, and told me that his Majesty was really afraid of his Life by the tumultuous part of the Army, and was resolv'd to make his escape; and that they had order from his Majesty to command me in his name to wait on his Majesty in his intended Escape. I replied, It was a great honor, and accompanied with not a little danger; but withal it was new to me, and therefore nothing occur'd to my thoughts at present but two things: the first was, that I thought it absolutely necessary that *Mr. Ashburnham*, who kept the King's mony, should immediately employ his Servant *Dutton*, who was well acquainted with the Coast, to provide three or four Ships in several Ports, to be ready in all events; the second, that I also might receive his Majesty's



jesty's commands immediately from himself. To the first they seemed to concur, but nothing was ever done in it, which to this day amazes me. The other was effected, and I went the *Tuesday* night after to *Hampton Court* privately, being introduced a back way by *Mr. Leg*. The King told me he was afraid of his Life, and that he would have me assist in person in his escape. I asked which way his Majesty would go? his Majesty replied, that both *Mr. Ashburnham*, who was present, and I should know that by *Will. Leg*. The *Monday* before, *Mr. Ashburnham* and I went to the Head-Quarters, to desire Passes to return beyond the Seas; and by the way back he told me, that the *Scots* had much tampering with the King, but could come to no Agreement; that they would fain have his Majesty out of the Army, and to that end had much augmented his just fears; and therefore ask'd me what I thought of his Majesty's coming privately to *London*, and appearing in the House of Lords? I replied, Very ill;

ill ; because the Army were absolutely masters both of the City and Parliament, and would undoubtedly seize his Majesty ; and if there should be but two Swords drawn in the scuffle, they would accuse his Majesty of beginning a new War, and proceed with him accordingly. He then ask'd me what I thought of the *Isle of Wight* ? I replied, better than of *London* ; tho I knew nothing of it, nor who was Governor. He replied, that he had had some communication with the Governor of late, and conceived good hopes of him, but had no assurance from him. I then ask'd him, Why his Majesty would not make his Retreat secure by quitting the Kingdom ? He replied, not for two Reasons ; the first was, the Rendezvous would be a week after, and his Majesty was not willing to quit the Army before that were passed ; because if the Superior Officers prevailed, they would be able to make good their publick Engagement ; if they were overtopped, they must apply themselves to the King for their own security. The second

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cond was, that the *Scots* were in Treaty with the King, and well nigh a Conclusion, which they would never come to, but out of their desires to separate the King and the Army; that if the King went before, they would hold him to impossible Conditions, and therefore his Majesty was resolved to conclude with them first. In which advice *Mr. Ashburnham* was most positive, and told me often, that the World would laugh at us if we quitted the Army before we had agreed with the *Scots*; and let them, replied I, so his Majesty be secure. On the *Wednesday*, as I take it, we had Orders to send spare Horses to *Sutton* in *Hampshire*, a place where I never had been; and the *Thursday* after, his Majesty, with *Will. Leg*, came out at the closing of the evening, and immediately went towards *Oatlands*, and so through the Forest, where his Majesty was our Guide; but lost our way, tho he were well acquainted with it, the night being excessively dark and stormy. When his Majesty sat first out, he discoursed  
long



long with *Mr. Ashburnham*, and at last called me to him, and complained very much of the *Scots Commissioners*, who were the first that presented his Dangers to him, and offer'd him Expedients for his escape; but when he came to make use of those they had offer'd, they were fullest of Objections; saying, that his coming into *London* was desperate, his hiding in *England* chimerical, and his escape to *Jersey* prevented, because my Ship was discovered; which particular my Lord *Lanerick* affirmed. The King thereupon ask'd me, if I had ever a Ship ready? I answered, that I neither had not could have any, having not one penny of money; that I had desir'd *Mr. Ashburnham* earnestly to make provision, but knew not what he had done in it. The King then ask'd me, what I thought might be the reason they should say I had one, and that discovered, if I had none? I replied, It was hard for me to affirm what was their meaning in that particular, or in general in their proceeding with his Majesty: but I did conjecture,

they were very desirous to have his Majesty out of the Army, which made them present his Dangers to him so frequently as they had done: and in the next place they desired that his Majesty should put himself again into their hands, but wanted confidence, or believ'd it would be ineffectual to move it directly to his Majesty, because they had given so ill an account when he was last with them; and therefore they objected against their own Expedients of coming into *London*, and obscuring himself in *England*. And because they could find no other against his going to *Jersey*, they pretended that I had a Ship discovered; believing perhaps that I was totally separated from his Majesty, and so should not have had any occasion to contradict it; and by this means his Majesty being excluded all other means of escape, should have been necessitated to make use of *Scotland*. His Majesty laid his hand upon my shoulder and said, I think thou art in the right, and believed it afterward more confidently

dently than I did. I then ask'd his Majesty which way he would go. His Majesty replied, that he hoped to be at *Sutton* three hours before day, and that while our Horses were making ready, we would consider what course to take. But what by the length and illness of the way, the darkness of the night, and going at least ten miles out of our way, it was day-break when we came to our Inn at *Sutton*, where our Servant came out to us, and told us there was a Committee of the County sitting about the Parliaments business. His Majesty thereupon sent for our Horses out, and we continued our way towards *Southampton*; and his Majesty resolved that we four should walk down the next hill with our Horses in our hands, and as we walked consult what we were to do. Then I inquir'd if *Mr. Ashburnham* had gotten a Ship, and finding he had not, I proposed going farther West, where I was sure I had some Friends would favour our escape: and here again I found the two



reasons prevail, of not leaving the Army before the Rendevouz was passed, and the Treaty with the Scots finished. His Majesty resolved ( and that the first time for ought I could then discover ) to go for the *Isle of VVight*, whither he order'd *Mr. Ashburnham* and me to go with these Instructions, by word of mouth, to the Governor *Hammond*, and return to his Majesty, who went with *Will. Leg* to a house of my Lord *Southampton* at *Titchfield*; that we should carry him a Copy of the Letter his Majesty left behind him at *Hampton Court*, and of two Letters sent to him, one from *Cromwel*, the other without a name. *Cromwels* and the other Letter contained great apprehension and fears of the ill intentions of the Levelling party in the Army and City against his Majesty; and that from *Cromwel* added, that in prosecution thereof a new Guard was the next day to be put upon his Majesty of that party. His Majesty's Letter contain'd his distrust of the disorderly part of the Army, and his necessity

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fity thereupon of providing for his own  
 safety, which he would so do as not to  
 desert the Interest of the Army: that in  
 order thereunto we should let the Gover-  
 nor know, that of all the Army his Ma-  
 jesty had made choice of him to put  
 himself upon, as a person of a good  
 Extraction, and one, that tho he had  
 been engaged against him in the War,  
 yet it had been prosecuted by him with-  
 out any animosity to his Person, to  
 which he had been informed he had no  
 aversion: only his Majesty, that he  
 might not surprize him, thought fit to  
 send us before to advertise him, and  
 to desire his Promise to protect his Ma-  
 jesty and his Servants to the best of his  
 power; and if it should happen that  
 he might not be able to do it, then  
 the Governor should oblige himself to  
 leave us in as good a condition as he  
 found us, that is, suffer us to make  
 our escape. With these Instructions  
 we parted: but before I had gone ten  
 yards, I return'd to his Majesty, and

said, I had no knowledg of the Governor, and therefore could not tell whether he might not detain us in the Island; and therefore advis'd his Majesty, if we came not to him by the next day, that his Majesty should think no more of us, but secure his own escape. His Majesty thank'd me for the Caution, and pursued his way, and *Mr. Ashburnham* and I ours. The first thing we resolved was, that since his Majesty went towards the East side of the Island, that we would go on the West, to a place called *Limington*, where *Mr. Ashburnham* told me there was a short passage over. By the way I ask'd *Mr. Ashburnham* if he had any acquaintance with *Hammond* the Governor. He replied, not very much, yet he had lately had some discourse with him upon the Highway near *Kingston*, and found him not very averse to his Majesty; but that which made him conceive the best hopes of him was the Character *Mr. Denham*, and the Commendations my Lady *Isabella Thynn*

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gave of him. We came to *Limington* that night, but could not pass, by reason of a violent Storm that blew. The next morning we got over, and had then eight miles to the Castle of *Carisbroke*, where the Governor dwelt. We came thither after ten in the morning, and found the Governor was newly gone out towards *Newport*. When we overtook him, *Mr. Ashburnham* desir'd me to open the matter to him, which he would afterwards second himself. After I had saluted him, I took him aside, and deliver'd our message to him word for word. But he grew so pale, and fell into such a trembling, that I did really believe he would have fallen off his Horse: which trembling continu'd with him at least an hour after, in which he broke out into passionate and distracted Expressions, sometimes saying, O Gentlemen! you have undone me by bringing the King into the Island, if at least you have brought him; and if you have not, pray let him not come: for  
 what

what between my Duty to his Majesty, and my Gratitude for this fresh obligation of Confidence, and my observing my Trust to the Army, I shall be confounded: otherwhile he would talk to a quite contrary purpose. I remember, to settle him the better, I said, That, God be thanked, there was no harm done; that his Majesty intended a Favour to him and his Posterity, in giving him an occasion to lay a great obligation upon him, and such as was very consisting with his relation to the Army, who had so solemnly engaged themselves to his Majesty: but if he thought otherwise, his Majesty would be far from imposing his Person upon him. To that he replied, That then if his Majesty should come to any mischance, what would the Army and Kingdom say to him, that had refused to receive him? To this I replied, That he did not refuse him, who was not come to him. He returned, That he must needs know where his Majesty was,

was, because he knew where we were. I told him he was never the nearer for my part. He then began a little to sweeten, and to wish that his Majesty would have reposed himself absolutely upon him, because it would have been much the better for both. I then went to *Mr. Ashburnham*, and told him, that this Governor was not a man for our purpose, and that for my part I would never give my consent that his Majesty should trust him. *Mr. Ashburnham* acknowledged that he did not like him; yet on the other side, he much feared what would become of his Majesty if he should be discovered before he had made his point, and made appear what his intention was; for then he would be accused of what his Enemies pleased to lay upon him. I replied, That if we returned not that night, his Majesty would be gone to Sea. I perceived *Mr. Ashburnham* liked not that so well, and therefore took the Governor to task apart, and after some Conference they



they came both to me ; and the Governor said, that since we desired it, he would say, that because he believed his Majesty had made choice of him as a person of Honour and Honesty, to lay this great Trust upon, therefore he would not deceive his Majesty's expectation. I replied, That Expression was too general, and did not come home to our Instructions. He then made many Discourses not much to the purpose, during which time he kept himself between *Mr. Ashburnham* and me ; and when he found me still unsatisfied, he added, that I was harder to content than *Mr. Ashburnham*, and he did believe that his Majesty would be much easier pleas'd than either, and thereupon concluded that I should go into the Castle, and that *Mr. Ashburnham* should take his Horse and go to the King, and tell his Majesty what he said. I embraced the motion most readily, and immediately went over the Bridge into the Castle, tho I had the Image of  
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the Gallows very perfectly before me. *Mr. Ashburnham* went, I believe, with a better heart to horse; but before he was gone half a flight shot, the Governor ( being before the Castle gate ) called to him, and had a conference of at least a quarter of an hour with him, to what purpose I never knew until I came into *Holland*, where a Gentleman of good Worth and Quality told me, that the Governor affirmed afterwards in *London* and in many places, that he then offer'd to *Mr. Ashburnham*, that I should go and he should stay, as believing his Majesty to be less willing to expose him than me, but that *Mr. Ashburnham* absolutely refused. Whatever passed between them, I am sure they came both back to me; and the Governor putting himself between us said, that he would say that which he was sure ought to content any reasonable man, which was, that he did believe his Majesty relied on him as on a person of Honor and Honesty, and therefore he did engage himself to us to perform

form whatever could be expected from a person of Honor and Honesty. Before I could make any, *Mr. Ashburnham* made this reply, *I will ask no more.* The Governor then added, let us then all go to the King, and acquaint him with it. *Mr. Ashburnham* answered, with all my heart. I then broke from the Governor who held me in his hand, and went to *Mr. Ashburnham* and said, What do you mean, to carry this man to the King before you know whether he will approve of this Undertaking or no? undoubtedly you will surprize him. *Mr. Ashburnham* said nothing but, *I'll warrant you:* and so you shall, said I; for you know the King much better than I do, and therefore when we shall come where the King is, I assure you I will not see him before you have satisfied his Majesty concerning your proceeding. Well; he would take that upon him. I then desired he would not let the Governor carry any with him, that in all events we might the more easily secure him, which he



he consented to. Nevertheless when we came to *Cows Castle*, where we were to take boat, *Hammond* took *Basket* the Governor of that Castle along with him ; and when I complained of it to *Mr. Ashburnham*, he answer'd, It was no matter, we should be able to do well enough with them two. When we came to *Titchfield*, my Lord of *Southampton's* House, *Mr. Ashburnham* according to his promise went up to the King, and left me below with *Hammond* and *Basket*. I afterwards understood, that when *Mr. Ashburnham* had given an Account of our message and the Governors answer, and came to say that he was come along with us to make good what he had promised, his Majesty struck himself upon the breast and said, What ! have you brought *Hammond* with you ? O, you have undone me ; for I am by this means made fast from stirring. *Mr. Ashburnham* replied, That if he mistrusted *Hammond*, he would undertake to secure him. His Majesty said, I understand you well

well enough, but the World would not him ; if he should follow that Counsel, it would be said and believed that he ventured his Life for him, and that he had unworthily taken it from him. No, it was too late now of thinking any thing, but going through the way he had forced him upon, and leave the Issue to God. But when his Majesty began anew to wonder that he could make so great an oversight, *Mr. Ashburnham* having no more to reply, wept bitterly. In the mean time *Hammond* and *Basket* were so impatient at this long stay below in the Court, that I was forced to send a Gentleman of my Lord *Southampton*, to desire that his Majesty and *Mr. Ashburnham* would remember that we were below. About half an hour after, we were sent for up ; but before *Hammond* and *Basket* kiss'd his hand, his Majesty took me aside and said, Sir *John Berkley*, I hope you are not so passionate as *Jack Ashburnham* : do you think you have followed my directions ? I answered,

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ed, no indeed Sir, but it is none of my fault, as *Mr. Ashburnham* can tell you if he please; I have exposed my life to prevent it; and then told his Majesty the sum of what had pass'd, and particularly of my being a Prisoner in the Castle, and of *Mr. Ashburnham's* coming away without me, which *Mr. Ashburnham* had omitted. His Majesty judg'd that it was now too late to boggle, and therefore received *Hammond* cheerfully, who promised more to his Majesty than he had done to us, and we all went over that night to the *Cows*. In the morning his Majesty went with the Governor to *Carisbroke*, and was met by the way with divers Gentlemen of the Island, by whom we learnt that we were more fortunate than we were aware of; for the whole Island was unanimously for the King except the Governors of the Castles and *Hammond's* Captains; that there were but twelve old Men in the Castle, who had served under the Earl of *Portland*, and were all



well affected ; that *Hammond* might be easily gained if not more easily forced, the Castle being day and night full of Loyal Subjects and Servants of his Majesty ; and his Majesty having daily liberty to ride abroad, might chuse his own time of quitting the Island. Indeed not only his Majesty and all that were about him, but those that were at a further distance, approved by their Letters this resolution of his Majesty. Both his Majesty and *Mr. Ashburnham* attackt the Governor, and I think very prosperously, for both he and his Captains seem'd to desire nothing of his Majesty, but that he would send a Civil Message to the Houses, signifying his propension to Peace, which was done to their Satisfaction. Three days after our coming to the Island, a Messenger was sent by the Parliament for *Mr. Ashburnham*, *Sir John Berkley* and *Mr. Leg*, but the Governor refused to let us go. The fifth day after our arrival we heard that in the Rendevouz of the Army, the

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superior Officers had carried it, and that one or two were shot, and eleven more of the mutinying Levellers made Prisoners. This made us bless God for the resolution of coming into the Island: and now *Mr. Ashburnham* and the Governor were frequent and fervent in private conferences, and as I have heard came to particulars of accommodation for him, in case of the King's recovery: Insomuch that now the Governor seemed solicitous of nothing so much, as that the Army should resume its wonted discipline, and clear themselves of their importunate and impertinent Adjutators, of whose Authority in the Army he never approved, and therefore sent his Chaplain immediately to the Army to conjure them to make use of their Success upon the Adjutators. Two or three days after, he moved earnestly, that his Majesty would send one of us three to the Army with colourable Letters to the General; but that he should write with confidence to *Cromwel* and

*Ireton*, to whom he would also write, and did, conjuring them by their Engagement, by their Interest, by their Honor, and their Consciences, to come to a speedy close with the King, and not to expose themselves still to the fantastick giddiness of the Adjutors. My two Comrades were very well contented that I should go this Voyage, which I did not without some apprehension of the event as to my own particular. His Majesty charged me to require *Will. Ashburnham* to provide a ship for him upon the Coast of *Suffex*: But *Mr. Ashburnham* thought not fit I should be furnish'd with mony for that, or for my journey. I desired that in case the Army should not intend well, I might have Commission to the Scots, but *Mr. Ashburnham* did not think it fit. I then took a Cousin German of mine with me, one *Mr. Henry Berkley* Son to Sir *Henry Berkley*, and procured a Pass from the Governor of the *Cows* for his return within four or five days, which had been otherwise

wise



wife forgotten. Between *Bagshot* and *Windsor* ( then the Head-Quarters ) I met *Traughton* the Governor's Chaplain, who told me he could carry no good news back, the Army being as yet come to no resolution as to the King. As I was half way between *Bagshot* and *Windsor*, Cornet *Joyce* a great Adjutator, and he that had taken the King from *Holmby*, overtook me. He seemed much to wonder that I durst adventure to come to the Army. Upon my discourses with him I found, that it had been discoursed among the Adjutators, whether for their justification the King ought not to be brought to a Tryal, which he held in the affirmative, not that he would have one hair of his Head suffer, but that they might not bear the blame of the War. I was quickly weary of his discourse; but I perceived he would not leave me until he saw me in *Windsor*, and knew where I lodg'd. About an hour after, I went to the General's Quarters, and found a General meet-

meeting of the Officers there. After an hours waiting I was admitted, and after I had deliver'd my Compliment and Letters to the General, I was desired to withdraw; and having attended half an hour, I was call'd in. The General look'd very severely upon me, and after his manner said, That they were the Parliament's Army, and therefore could not say any thing to his Majesty's motion of peace, but must refer those matters to them, to whom they would send his Majesty's Letters. I then look'd about upon *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, and the rest of my acquaintance, who saluted me very coldly, and had their Countenance quite changed towards me, and shewed me *Hammonds* Letter, which I had deliver'd to them, and smiled with much disdain upon it. I saw that was no place for me, and therefore went to my Lodging, where I staid from four until six, and none of my acquaintance came at me, which appeared sad enough. At last I sent my Servant out, and wish'd him to see

see if he could light upon any of my acquaintance. At last he met with one that was a General Officer, who whispered in his ear, and bad him tell me, that he would meet me at twelve at night in a Close behind the *Garter Inn*. I came at the hour, and he not long after. I ask'd him what News? and he replied, None good; and then continued this Discourse. " You know  
 " that I and my Friend engaged our  
 " selves to you; that we were zealous  
 " for an Agreement, and if the rest  
 " were not so, we were abused;  
 " that if there was an intention to co-  
 " zen us, it would not be long hid from  
 " us; that whatever we should disco-  
 " ver, should not be secret to you; that  
 " we, since the Tumults of the Army,  
 " did mistrust *Cromwel*, and not long  
 " after *Ireton*, whereof I informed you.  
 " I come now to tell you, that we mis-  
 " trust neither, but know them and all  
 " of us to be the archest Villains in the  
 " World; for we are resolved notwith-  
 " stand-



“ standing our Engagements, to destroy  
 “ the King and his Posterity ; to which  
 “ end *Ireton* made two Propositions this  
 “ Afternoon, one that you should be sent  
 “ prisoner to *London* ; the other, that none  
 “ should speak with you upon pain of  
 “ death : and I do hazard my Life now  
 “ by doing of it. The way that is in-  
 “ tended to ruin the King, is to send  
 “ eight hundred of the most disaffected  
 “ of the Army to secure his Person, as  
 “ believing him not so now, and then  
 “ bring him to a Tryal, and I dare think  
 “ no farther. This will be done in ten  
 “ days ; and therefore if the King can  
 “ escape, let him do it as he loves his  
 “ Life. I then inquired what was the  
 reason of this horrid change ; what had  
 the King done to deserve it : He said,  
 nothing, and that to our grief ; for we  
 would leap at any advantage against  
 him ; I have pleaded hard against this Re-  
 solution this day, but have bin laught  
 at for my pains. Well, but still, why  
 is this horrid perfidiousness resolved on,  
 since

since there appears no occasion for it,  
 the Officers being superiors at the Ren-  
 devouz? He could not tell certainly,  
 but he conceived this to be the ground  
 of it, " That tho one of the Mutineers  
 " was shot at the late Rendevouz, and  
 " eleven made Prisoners, and the rest  
 " in appearance overquell'd, yet they  
 " were so far from being so indeed,  
 " that there hath been with *Cromwel*  
 " and *Ireton*, one after another, two  
 " third parts of the Army to tell them,  
 " that tho they were certainly to perish  
 " in the Attempt, they would leave  
 " nothing unessay'd to bring the whole  
 " Army to their sense; and if all fail'd,  
 " they would make a Division in the  
 " Army, and join with any that would  
 " assist in the Destruction of their Op-  
 " posers: *Cromwel* and *Ireton* therefore  
 " argued thus; If the Army divide,  
 " the greatest part will join with the  
 " Presbyterians, and will, in all likeli-  
 " hood, prevail to our ruin, and we  
 " shall be forced to make Applications

“ to the King, wherein we shall rather  
 “ crave than offer any Assistance; and  
 “ when his Majesty shall give it us,  
 “ and afterwards have the good fortune  
 “ to prevail, if he shall then pardon  
 “ us, it is all we can pretend to, and  
 “ more than we can promise our selves;  
 “ and thereupon concluded, That if we  
 “ cannot bring the Army to our sense,  
 “ we must go to theirs, a Schism be-  
 “ ing evidently destructive: And there-  
 “ fore *Cromwel* bent all his Thoughts to  
 “ make his peace with the Party that  
 “ was most opposite to the King, in  
 “ which *Peters* was instrumental. He  
 “ acknowledg’d (as he had formerly  
 “ done upon the like occasion) that  
 “ the Glories of the World had so daz-  
 “ led his eyes, that he could not discern  
 “ clearly the great Works the Lord was  
 “ doing; that he was resolved to hum-  
 “ ble himself, and desire the Prayers  
 “ of the Saints, that God would be  
 “ pleased to forgive him his Self-seeking.  
 “ These Arts, together with comforta-  
 “ ble



“ble Messages to the Prisoners, that  
 “they should be of good cheer, for no  
 “harm should befall them since it had  
 “pleased God to open his eyes, per-  
 “fected his Reconciliation, and he was  
 “reinstated in the Fellowship of the  
 “Faithful. I then ask’d this Gentleman  
 whether I should not endeavour to de-  
 liver my Letters from the King to *Crom-*  
*wel* and *Ireton*: he replied, by all means,  
 lest they should mistrust I had discover-  
 ed them.

As soon as I came to my Lodging  
 I dispatch’d my Cousin *Harry Berkley*  
 to the *Isle of Wight* with two Letters;  
 the one containing a general Relation  
 and doubtful Judgment of things in  
 the Army, which I intended should be  
 shewn to the Governor; the other was  
 in Cypher, wherein I gave a particular  
 account of this Conference, naming the  
 Person, and concluding with a most  
 passionate Supplication to his Majesty to  
 meditate nothing but his immediate E-  
 scape. The next morning I sent Co-

lonel Cook to Cromwel, to let him know that I had Letters and Instructions to him from the King. He sent me word by the same Messenger, that he durst not see me, it being very dangerous to us both, and bid me be assured, that he would serve his Majesty as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but desired that I would not expect that he should perish for his sake. As soon as I had this answer, I took horse for *London*, with this resolution, not to acquaint any man with the intentions of the Army, nor of his Majesty's intended escape, which I presumed would be within few days, the Wind serving, and the Queen having sent a ship to that purpose, and pressed it earnestly by her letters. The next day after my arrival at *London* I had a letter from my Lord *Lanerick* and Lord *Lauderdale*, desiring a meeting with me, as presuming I had a Commission to treat with them from his Majesty. At our meeting they wondered to find the contrary. In my discourse

course with them I happen'd to say, The last words his Majesty said to me at parting were, that whatever I should undertake to any person in his name, his Majesty would make it good in the word of a King. My Lord *Lanerick* thereupon replied, that he would ask no more Commission for me, believing it to be true, both because I affirmed it, and because he had received the like from his Majesty upon the like occasion. Our first conference was interrupted through my Lord *Lauderdale's* vehement indignation against the Letter of *Mr. Ashburnham* to the Speaker, wherein he had this passage, *That he would not expose his Honor to the discretion of either Scot or Adjutator.* This Letter was written by *Mr. Ashburnham* before I left the Island, upon the occasion of *Whalleys* complaint to the House of Commons, that *Mr. Ashburnham* had broken his Engagement with him at his first coming to *Woburn*, wherein he undertook that the King should not leave the Army with-



without his Knowledg and Consent. Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Leg* and I, objected hard against this Expression; but Mr. *Ashburnham* lik'd it so well, that we could not make him depart from it. On the *Friday* after, we had another meeting, wherein we discoursed our selves well towards an Agreement, and resolved on *Monday* following to conclude one way or other. The next day, being *Saturday*, I had a Letter from Mr. *Ashburnham*, requiring me in his Majesty's name, to lay by all other business whatsoever, and return instantly to his Majesty. I sent therefore my Excuse to my Lords *Lanrick* and *Lauderdale*, and went that night out of Town, which they took very ill, tho they had no reason for it; for I would as willingly have excused my Journey as they, as believing it was only to assist in his Majesty's Escape: for I had more than once observ'd, that tho Mr. *Ashburnham* were willing enough to appropriate Employments of Honor  
and

and Profit, yet he was contented to communicate those of Danger with his Friends. The next morning I was with his Majesty, who received me more graciously than ordinary, and told me that he had always a good opinion of my Honesty and Discretion, but was never so much confirmed in it, as by my dispatch from *Windsor*, for which his Majesty thank'd me. After I had return'd my Acknowledgments for his Majesty's Favor, I ask'd, if his Majesty approved the Advice so well, why did he not follow it? Why was he still in the Island? where he could not long promise himself the Liberty he now had, since there were Forces design'd, both by Sea and Land, to secure his Person. His Majesty replied, that he would have a care of that time enough, and that he was to conclude with the *Scots* before he left the Kingdom, because from their desire to have him out of the Armies hands, they would take reason; whereas if he went  
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before, they would never treat with him but upon their own terms: and in this opinion *Mr. Ashburnham* fully concurred with his Majesty. Against this I argued the best I could, and when I saw it was in vain, I desired his Majesty would dispatch this Treaty, for his condition would admit no delays. His Majesty then order'd me to withdraw with *Mr. Ashburnham*, *Dr. Sheldon*, *Dr. Hammond*, and *Mr. Leg*, to see how far his Majesty had gone in a Treaty with the Scots. This Treaty had bin managed in *London* by *Dr. Gough*, who in the Queens name conjured his Majesty to make his speedy escape, in all his Letters, and in his own name beseech'd his Majesty not to insist upon nice terms in this present exigence of his affairs. But *Mr. Ashburnham* refined much upon several expressions of the Articles, that concerned the Covenant, and Church of *England*, of which he was a great Professor, and made many replies and alterations, and moved Messenger to be sent



sent after Messenger about it, and at last insisted, that the King would send for the Scots Commissioners to come to him. The next day I fell sick, what with my late journeying, and what with my vexation at this slow way of proceeding. The day following I went to his Majesty, and as soon as I could be admitted spoke to him in these words : *Sir, if you make no more hast than you do, I doubt you will not be able to secure your Escape ; and therefore I humbly beseech your Majesty to make two Papers or Draughts, the one containing the utmost extent of what your Majesty will give the Scots, and sign it ; and at the same time send another containing the least you will receive of them, and let the Scots sign and deliver that to Dr. Gough at the same time that he shall deliver your Majesty's Concessions to them, and provide instantly for your Safety.* About the middle of this discourse with the King, Mr. Ashburnham came in, and when I had ended, very graciously smiling said, That

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this Proposition was good if it were practicable, which it was not; for tho the Scots should agree to the Substance of all the Articles, yet they and all men else would have their several senses concerning the expressions, which must be satisfied, or no Agreement made, and therefore concluded that the Scots were to be sent for. To this I replied, that *Mr. Ashburnham* had much reason ordinarily speaking for what he objected; but his Majesty's danger made this a very extraordinary Case. His reasons carried it clear, and *Sir William Flemming* or *Mr. Mungo Murray* ( for they both went and came by turns ) was sent to invite the Scots Commissioners to come to his Majesty. The next day after his departure in the evening, the King called me to him and told me, I think you are a Prophet; for the Scots Commissioners at *London* have sent an Express, desiring me to do the same thing in effect you had moved, but that it was now

too

too late, for they would be come away before another Express could be gone out of the Island towards them. I replied, that our concurrence was accidental, for I had not the least Intelligence with the *Scots* Commissioners; but when I saw there was no remedy, I applied my self to what was next the best I could. And God knows there was work enough for abler men than any of us were: for at the same time the Scots were coming to the King, there were also Commissioners sent by the Parliament to his Majesty with offers of a Treaty, upon condition that his Majesty as a pledge of his future sincerity, would grant four Preliminary Bills, which they had brought ready drawn to his Majesty's hands. The first contained the Revocation of all Proclamations and Declarations against the Parliament, wherein his Majesty made himself expressly the Author of the War. The Second was against the Lords that had



bin lately made by his Majesty, that they should have no Seat or Vote in Parliament, and that his Majesty nor his Successors should make none for the future without consent of Parliament; which was to take away the most unquestion'd flower of his Crown, his being the sole fountain of Honor. The third was a Bill of exceptions from pardon, that included almost all of his Majesty's Subjects that had any considerable Estates. The fourth was an Act for the Militia, which embraced ten times more power, than the Crown ever executed, for the two Houses, raising men and money arbitrarily; which was no more nor less than dethroning of the King, and enslaving the People by a Law, and in effect to give the King only the leave to discourse whose the Glass Windows should be. Nevertheless the Title and Frontispiece of this vast Design was so modest, that many well-wishing persons were induced to believe, that by all means  
his

his Majesty ought to pass those Bills for many reasons; but especially because his Enemies would deliver his Majesty to the World as obstinate to his own and the Kingdoms ruin if he should not accept this offer. To avoid both the inconveniencies of granting or refusing, I drew an Answer of the Treaty before it began; that if they would needs think it expedient to require so great Hostages from his Majesty, they would not be backward to give some token to his Majesty of their reality, and then desired that at the same time his Majesty should pass these four Bills, the Houses would pass four of his Majesty's drawing, which were all most popular, and such as they durst not pass nor well deny: at least if they did, they could with no colour of justice accuse his Majesty for not granting what was most unjust and most unpopular. The first was a Bill for payment of the Army, which contained their disbanding as soon as they were paid.

paid. The second, a period to the present Parliament. The third, for restoring the King, Queen, and Royal Family to their Revenues. The fourth, the settling of the Church-Government without any coercive Power; and in the mean time, till such a Government were agreed on, the old to stand, without coercive Authority. I shew'd this Answer first to *Mr. Leg*, then to *Dr. Hammond* and *Dr. Sheldon*, who seemed to approve of the Expedient, and desir'd *Mr. Ashburnham* would acquaint the King with it. But I never heard any thing from his Majesty; and I was resolved never to have it obtruded, lest I should appear fond of my own Conceptions. By his Majesty's directions an Answer was drawn, that gave a full Denial, which was, in my judgment, very well pen'd. But I thought good penning did not signify much at that time, and therefore made this Objection: It is very possible, that upon his Majesty's giving  
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an absolute Negative, the Commissioners may have Orders to enjoin the Governor to look more strictly to his Person, and so his intended Escape would be prevented. His Majesty replied immediately, That he had thought of a Remedy, which was, to deliver his Answer seal'd to the Commissioners; and so left us. I could not hold from letting *Mr. Ashburnham* find my sense of this sorry Expedient, by saying, that the Commissioners would either open the Answer, or conclude that in effect it was a Denial, and proceed accordingly: but all was in vain. Some few days after, the *English* Commissioners arrived and delivered their Message, and desired an Answer within three or four days. The next day the Lords *Lowdon*, *Lanerick*, *Lauderdale*, *Chiesly*, and others, Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, deliver'd a Protestation to the King, subscribed by them, against the Message, as not according

cording with their Covenant. From that time they began to treat seriously with his Majesty, but would not permit that either *Mr. Ashburnham* or I should assist at the Treaty, for which I forgive them with all my heart; for it would have bin very insecure for us to have had any communication with them at that time. At last they came to such a conclusion as they could get, not such a one as they desired from the King, but much short of it, which gave an advantage to the Lord *Argyle* and the Clergy-Party in *Scotland* to oppose it as not satisfactory, and by that means retarded the proceeding of Duke *Hamilton* and that Army four Months, which was consequently the ruin of *Laugbern* in *Wales*, and of the Forces in *Kent* and *Essex*, and of the Scots Army also, which consisted of twenty four thousand men, all which Forces were the result of the Treaty; which appears to me, if it had been sooner dispatch'd, to have bin  
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one of the most prudent Acts of his Majesty's Reign, however unprosperous. When the time was come that the King was to deliver his Answer, his Majesty sent for the English Commissioners, and before he delivered his Answer, ask'd my Lord *Denbigh* (who was the chief Commissioner) whether they had power to alter any substantial or circumstantial part of their Message; and when they replied they had not, his Majesty deliver'd his answer to the Lord *Denbigh* sealed. After they had withdrawn a while, my Lord *Denbigh* return'd with the rest, and seem'd offended with his Majesty for delivering the Message settled, and express'd his indignation in harsher terms than one Gentleman ought to use to another. After long expostulations, his Majesty was perswaded to open his Answer, which was so far from allaying the Storm, as it increased it both in

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the Commissioners and the Governor, who altogether retired from the Castle of *Carisbroke* to *Newport*, an English mile from the Castle. As soon as they were gone, I went to *Mr. Ashburnham*, who told me he had newly dispatch'd away a Footman over the Water, to order four or five Horses to be removed from the Place where they then stood, lest they should be found and seiz'd by the Soldiers that were coming into the Island. I conjured him by no means to do it, lest the Winds or the Parliament's Frigats might force us in our escape to put ashore, and we should want Horses. He thereupon sent a Groom after him, and brought him back, but within few hours after sent him again with the first Order, but upon what ground I know not, unless that of good husbandry. That night or the next morning his Majesty resolved to endeavour his Escape, but he met with two great  
Obsta-

Obstacles: the Wind in the very instant became cross, and the Governor return'd from *Newport* full of fury, and lock'd up the Gates, and doubled his Guards, and went not to bed that night. In the morning he commanded all his Majesty's Servants from him. Before we took our leaves, we acquainted his Majesty, that we had left the Captain of the Frigate, and two honest and trusty  Gentlemen of the Island, to assist his Escape, and that we would have all things in readiness on the other side of the Water. His Majesty commanded us to draw a Declaration in his name that night, and send it to his Majesty in the morning. When we came to *Newport*, *Will. Leg* and I left *Mr. Ashburnham* and the rest in the Inn, and went to an Acquaintance's house of ours in the Town, where, after we had staid an hour, we heard a Drum beat confusedly, and not long after that, one

Captain *Burley*, with divers others, were risen to rescue the King. Upon this Mr. *Leg* and I went to the Inn, where we found Mr. *Ashburnham* making Speeches to those poor well-affected People, advising them to desist from their vain Enterprize. I must confess I thought any communication of ours with them dangerous, and therefore I advised Mr. *Ashburnham* not to say any thing to them; for when his words were out of his mouth, others would interpret them, and say he said what they pleased: and it was well for ~~him~~ and us that we did so; for the Prisoners were not only examin'd concerning us, but promis'd Liberty and Pardon in case they would peach us; and the Governor of the *Cows* had order from *Hammond* to put us a Ship-board, and to carry us to *London* upon suspicion that we were accessory to this Rising; which was a Design so impossible for those that undertook it

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to effect, consisting of Women and Children without any Arms saving one Musket, that no sober man could possibly have been engaged in it. I was desired that night to draw the Declaration for his Majesty, which I did, and it was approved of by all but *Mr. Ashburnham*, and at last publish'd in his Majesty's name. After we had staid on the other side of the Water about three weeks, expecting the Kings coming over to us, and began at last to despair of it, I moved to *Mr. Ashburnham*, *Mr. Leg* and *Mr. Denham* ( who was then come to us from *London* ), that some one might be sent to the Queen from us all, which was consented to, and I made choice of by the rest.

*F I N I S.*